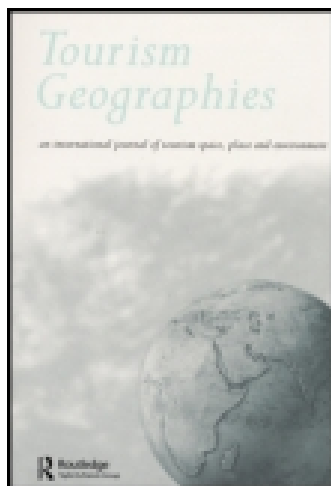


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Individual and Collective Impacts and Residents' Perceptions of Tourism

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ABSTRACT *This study investigates individual and collective impacts of tourism on the residents of Hat Yai City Municipality as well as their perceptions of tourism development in their residential area through a survey conducted among a sample of residents living in 47 communities within Hat Yai City Municipality. Individual impacts are the impacts that satisfy individual needs, while collective impacts are the impacts that meet communal needs. The results of data analysis reveal that residents who benefit from tourism (individually or collectively) perceive tourism more positively than those who do not benefit from it. Although the study finds that residents are a little more concerned about how they, as individuals rather than as a collective group of community, are affected by tourism, it is unable to conclude which one of these impact categories is more influential in forming residents' attitudes.*

KEY WORDS: Hat Yai, individual impact, collective impact, resident perception, social exchange theory, Maslow's hierarchy of needs

Introduction

The tourism industry is an important sector in the current world economy. However, tourism is capable of bringing both benefits and costs to residents, and understanding the perceptions of this specific group of stakeholders is crucial in its planning as accorded by the principle of sustainable development. The social exchange theory explains these perceptions (Ap 1992) as it rationalizes that residents who perceive the benefits they receive from tourism as outweighing its costs are likely to perceive tourism positively and support tourism. This is indeed what was found by Kim and Pennington-Gray (2003) in their study in Micanopy, Florida, USA, and by Cass (2006) in a study in Cayos Cochinos, Honduras. Both of the above studies indicate that the way tourism affects the residents may explain the differences in perceptions that they have toward tourism, a gap worthy of study.

The ways in which the impacts of tourism reach the residents can be in the form of individual or collective impacts. This study examines the different perceptions that

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Hat Yai City Municipality residents may have toward tourism development in their community by exploring the individual and collective benefits and costs that they perceive it brings.

Literature Review

Residents' Perceptions and Social Exchange Theory

The social exchange theory has been considered as the framework for several studies intending to develop and understand residents' perceptions of tourism development and its impacts (Ap 1990, 1992; Kayat 2000; Gursoy *et al.* 2002; McGehee & Andereck 2004; Andereck *et al.* 2005; Sharma & Dyer 2009) as it explains the agreement of the residents in accepting tourism (exchanging parts of their space with tourists) if they find it rewarding, and rejecting tourism if they feel that the exchange is not worthy.

Several earlier research guided by this theory did discover differences in the way residents evaluate the impacts of tourism and their support for tourism, and different probable factors are found to cause these differences. Jurowski *et al.* (1997) found in a study in Virginia, USA, that the potential for economic gain as an exchange item had a strong, direct and positive effect on residents' support for tourism. On the other hand, Liu and Var (1986), cited in Kayat (2000), studied tourism impacts upon Hawaiian residents and found that the residents regarded environmental protection as more important than economic benefits of tourism even though they were unwilling to sacrifice their standard of living for environmental conservation, indicating that their current economic well-being is more important than how their environment is going to look like in the future. Recently, however, Vargas-Sánchez *et al.* (2010) found that the perception of the negative impacts that a resident may have about tourism does not affect his/her attitude, indicating an insufficiency in using the social exchange theory in explaining resident's attitudes.

Exchanges and Residents' Individual and Collective Impacts

The use of the social exchange theory in understanding residents' perceptions toward tourism requires further analysis. Several studies have shown that residents indicated support for further tourism development even when they claimed that tourism brought negative impacts to the areas they were living in (Kayat 2000). Thus, the social exchange theory alone may not sufficiently explain residents' perceptions toward tourism. Unless, as according to Faulkner and Tideswell (1997), altruism among residents may result in them tolerating negative consequences in their quality of life because they see more generalized community benefits being derived from this industry.

A normal person would usually be concerned about his/her individual needs first, and his/her societal or communal needs second, and this is especially true in an

individualistic culture (Gambrel & Cianci 2003). Individual needs are mostly related to their physiological needs, which are the first hierarchical level in the Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow 1954), while the societal needs are mostly related to the social or affiliation need, which is characterized by belonging to and being accepted by others. Maslow's theory suggests that the two lower levels of needs, namely the physiological, and safety and security needs, must be met before the individual will strongly desire the social needs. Once the need for affiliation is satisfied, the individual desires more personal recognition and feels the need for self-esteem and later the need for self-actualization (Gambrel & Cianci 2003). The way the impacts of tourism are felt by the residents links closely with their needs and values.

Individual impacts are personal benefits and losses received or experienced only by selected individuals. These are the benefits and losses that reach them personally, while collective impacts are those that are experienced by all individuals in the community. Examples of individual benefits are economic opportunities a person receives from tourism when he is employed in the industry that fulfill her/his individual needs. However, economic opportunities can also reach the residents collectively, especially when tourism contributes to the state revenue and this revenue is used to finance infrastructure improvement in the state that matches the communal needs. Impacts of tourism in the form of the environmental cost fall mostly in the category of collective costs. Since the environment does not belong to anyone individually, tourism's positive and negative environmental impacts are not felt individually but collectively. This may explain findings by Vargas-Sánchez *et al.* (2010) mentioned earlier in this paper, that the perception of the negative impacts that a resident may have about tourism may not automatically affect the resident's attitude toward tourism. Findings from previous studies suggested that residents' perceptions and attitudes toward tourism may be influenced by the way it affects them (whether the impacts are received individually or collectively). Kuvan and Akan (2005), for example, found that residents in Belek, Turkey, who did not had their major source of income from a tourism-related job were more critical about the negative impacts than those who were working in the tourism industry. However, King *et al.* (1993) found in their study in Nadi, Fiji, that residents' awareness of tourism's negative impacts on the community's morality, work attitudes, quality of life, and legal and environmental resources did not lead them to reduce their approval for tourism development.

Parallel to the discussion above, Schwartz (1990) explained that individualism culture takes place when people give priority to personal goals over the goals of the group, while collectivist culture is formed when the priority is toward group's collective goals. Schwartz and Bilsky (1990) suggested that values or '... people's conceptions of the goals that serve as guiding principles in their lives' (Schwartz 1990: 142) serve individual interests, collective interests, or both types of interests. These human values can be traced directly to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, namely the security domain (collective value), the achievement domain (individual value), and the pro-social domain (collective value). The security domain of values

incorporates the basic need to physically survive, which reflects the definition for Maslow's physiological needs. The achievement domain of values consists of the development and utilization of skills from available resources in the physical and social environment, which is related to Maslow's need for self-esteem, where the individual desires more personal recognition and recognition from others. Last, the pro-social domain of values involves the concern for the well-being of others, which fits Maslow's need for affiliation, whereby individuals desire to belong to and be accepted by other members in the society (Gambrel & Cianci 2003). Understanding residents' needs and values through the categorization of impacts perceived by residents as serving their individual or collective needs and interests may contribute additional knowledge on residents' attitudes toward tourism.

Tourism Development in Hat Yai City Municipality

Hat Yai City Municipality is the main tourism town in Songkhla province and is the most popular tourist destination for shopping in southern Thailand. It is also the southernmost centers for trading, communication, and transportation. Being the gateway to Malaysia and Singapore, it is extremely accessible, as tourists, who mostly come for shopping, food, and entertainment, are able to travel to this town by air, rail, or road. Heavy tourism leads to infrastructure development and economic growth, especially in industries related to tourism, such as accommodation (hotels, guest houses, and apartments), restaurants, entertainment outlets, and travel agencies (Tourism Authority of Thailand 2009), thus bringing both probable positive and negative impacts on the residents. Tourism development in this city is highly supported by the government policies through the tourism promotional activities and community participation opportunities in tourist activities such as the Songkran festival, Southern agriculture fair, vegetarian festival, and Loi-krathong festival (Hat Yai City Municipality 2009).

The Research Problem, Definitions of Terms, and Research Objectives

The present study argues that whether the costs and benefits viewed by the residents as fulfilling their individual or communal needs may influence the above exchanges. Several earlier studies in tourism, particularly in understanding tourists' behavior, have applied Maslow's hierarchy of needs (see, e.g., Jackson *et al.* 1996; Crompton & McKay 1997). However, no studies have attempted to apply this model in understanding residents' attitudes. The examination of residents' perceptions toward tourism impacts by categorizing them into individual and collective impacts may produce new information concerning the role of residents' needs and interests in the formation of their perceptions. This study explores the individual and collective impacts of tourism on the residents in Hat Yai. In addition, it also examines how residents' perception toward tourism is influenced by the individual impacts that

they receive, and how the residents’ perception toward tourism is influenced by the collective impacts that they receive.

Study Method

A quantitative methodology was chosen as the study focuses on examining Hat Yai City Municipality residents’ perceptions toward tourism development using a statistical analysis. The sample of this study was selected from residents living in 47 communities within Hat Yai City Municipality using a four-stage multistage sampling approach as follows:

- (1) Purposive sampling technique was used to select four communities in Hat Yai City Municipality area that have well-known tourist attractions. The four selected communities were Naa-Suansatharana community (645 households), Kimyong-Suntisook community (1369 households), Wat Hat Yai Nai community (753 households), and Talad-Phophrom community (826 households). Thus, the total number of households from the selected communities was 3593 households.
- (2) Following the suggestion by Ritchoo (2004) that the minimum number of samples for populations under 10,000 is 10% of the study population, the study determined that the sample of this study was to be 359 households.
- (3) Stratified random sampling approach was used to ensure equal proportion of samples from each selected communities. The number of samples from each selected communities is shown in Table 1.
- (4) The lottery method was used to select 359 household addresses of residents from the selected communities determined in stage (3). The sampling process of this study is illustrated in Figure 1.

The questionnaire used in the study consisted of 37 items that measured respondents’ perceptions of tourism impacts. A four-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly

Table 1. The study samples from selected communities.

Selected communities	Population (households)	Sample (households)
Naa-Suansatharana community	645	$\frac{645}{3593} \times 359 = 64$
Kimyong-Suntisook community	1369	$\frac{1369}{3593} \times 359 = 137$
Wat Hat Yai Nai community	753	$\frac{753}{3593} \times 359 = 75$
Talad-Phophrom community	826	$\frac{826}{3593} \times 359 = 83$
Total	3593	359

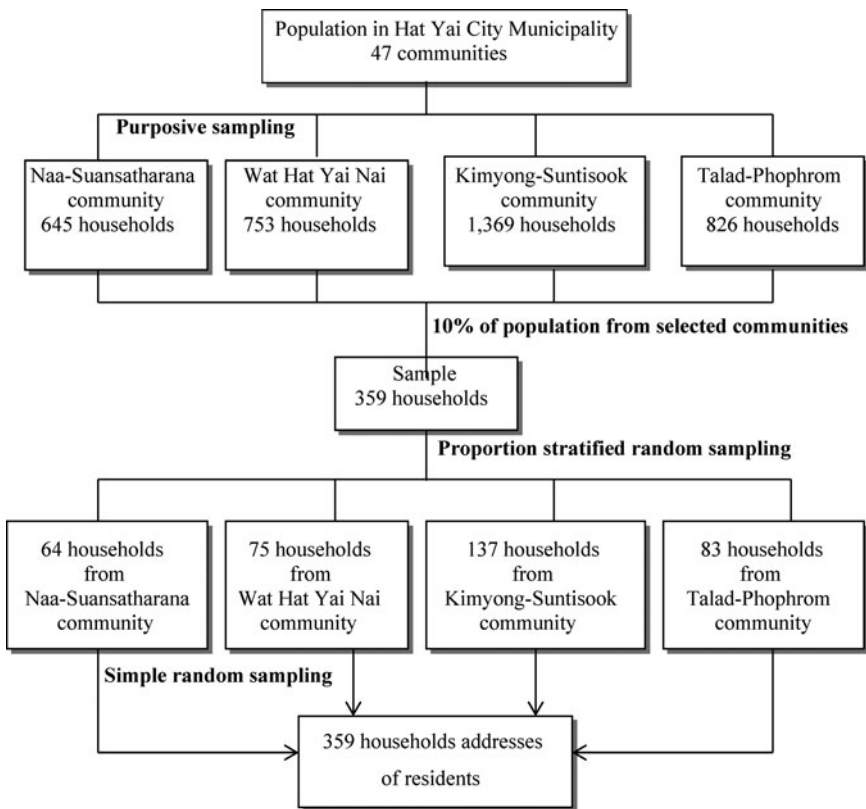


Figure 1. Sampling technique.

disagree, to 4 = strongly agree) was utilized for the items to avoid the option of 'no opinion' by respondents (Allison *et al.* 1996). The original questionnaire draft was sent out to an international expert, who is a professor in Tourism Studies at Washington University. Suggestions from the expert were considered in the improvement of the content of the questionnaire, which was later translated into Thai language. The questionnaire in Thai was sent out to five Thai experts, who provided feedback regarding the wordings of the measurement items. The feedback and suggestions were used to revise the questionnaire.

A pilot study was conducted among 50 residents who were not in the study sample. The results of the reliability test carried out on the data collected during the pilot study reported an alpha coefficient of 0.793 for 15 items on individual impacts, an alpha coefficient of 0.836 for 16 items on collective impacts, and an alpha coefficient of 0.707 for six items on residents' perceptions. This result indicates the instrument

of this study had internal consistency in all items of measurement and was suitable for use in collecting data.

These respondent-filled questionnaires were used to collect data from 359 respondents during the period from June and August 2010. Five steps were used for data collection:

- (1) A list of household addresses for the residents chosen by the lottery method discussed earlier was developed.
- (2) Research assistants were deployed to the selected addresses. Each deployed assistant then requested to speak to an adult of 20 years or older, who then was considered as a respondent. In the cases where there was no adult at home at the time, the research assistant returned on another day when the respondent was available.
- (3) The research assistant explained the survey to the respondent.
- (4) Once the respondent agreed to participate in the survey, the research assistant then left the questionnaire for the respondent to fill, and the questionnaire was collected on the following day.
- (5) If the respondent did not agree to participate, the research assistant would approach the neighbor and repeat the procedure.

After eliminating the incomplete questionnaires, 324 useable ones were obtained, yielding a 90% response rate.

Results

Respondents' Profiles

As per the respondents' profile, 48.5% were male and 51.5% were females. Some 50.6% of the respondents worked in tourism-related jobs, while the other 49.4% worked in jobs unrelated to tourism. Data from the survey also revealed that 50.3% of the respondents had been living in Hat Yai City Municipality for over 10 years, while 49.7% had been living in this area for less than 10 years. Over half (51.2%) of the respondents indicated that they had contact with tourists every day.

The Individual and Collective Impacts of Tourism on the Residents in Hat Yai

A principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation of the 37 impact items was conducted to determine the individual impact, collective impact, and residents' perception constructs. The final result revealed five factors for individual and four factors for collective impacts, yielding nine factors, while two factors that explained residents' perceptions were obtained. The five individual factors were (1) individual problems (increased cost of living, unhealthy lifestyle, and decreasing safety), (2)

impacts of tourism on individual lifestyle (recreational opportunities and opportunities to meet other people), (3) impacts of tourism on individual pride and cultural awareness (cultural pride, community pride, increased knowledge of own culture, and awareness of ethnic identity), (4) impacts of tourism on individual economy (creating job, opportunities to choose a good job, and employment), and (5) impacts of tourism on individual image (being able to work together with other local residents, learning and understanding other cultures, and being friendlier to tourists). The four collective factors were (1) collective problems (increased attention on materialistic values, imitation of tourists' behavior, traffic congestion, overcrowding, prostitution, and alcohol and drug abuse), (2) impacts of tourism on collective economy (a variety of goods and services, more purchasing, diverse jobs, and public transportation), (3) impacts of tourism on collective image (cultural exchange, a variety of cultural activities, and preserving cultural identity), and (4) impacts of tourism on collective services (recreational facilities, social services, and infrastructure development). The two factors that explained residents' perceptions toward tourism development were (1) perceived benefits of tourism development and (2) favorable attitude toward tourism development. The overall items of these variables were appropriate as the criterion suggested by Hair *et al.* (2006), eigenvalues greater than 1.00, and factor loadings greater than 0.40 are generally acceptable as well as alpha coefficients greater than 0.60. The 11 factors were used to create multi-item scales, as shown in Table 2.

Relationships Between Residents' Perceptions Toward Tourism and the Impacts (Individual and Collective) That They Receive

In this study, multiple regression analysis was used to test the relationship between the five factors of individual impacts, the four factors of collective impacts, and residents' perceptions toward tourism development. The results shown in Tables 3 and 4 indicate that there is a negative relationship between the impacts of tourism in the form of individual and collective problems and residents' perceptions toward the benefits of tourism development (individual problems: $\beta = -0.304$, $t = -5.925$, $p < 0.001$; collective problems: $\beta = -0.182$, $t = -3.296$, $p < 0.05$) as well as toward how much they favor tourism (individual problems: $\beta = -0.156$, $t = -2.861$, $p < 0.05$; collective problems: $\beta = -0.157$, $t = -2.682$, $p < 0.05$). These costs from tourism that lessen the positive perceptions that residents have toward the benefit of tourism consist of both individual and collective costs.

However, the results indicate that more individual benefits than collective benefits that contribute to the positive perceptions that residents have toward tourism. This is because the relationship between residents' perceptions toward the benefits of tourism development and impacts of tourism on individual lifestyle ($\beta = 0.140$, $t = 2.784$, $p < 0.05$), individual pride and awareness ($\beta = 0.122$, $t = 2.106$, $p < 0.05$), individual economy ($\beta = 0.136$, $t = 2.732$, $p < 0.05$), individual image ($\beta = 0.155$, $t = 3.137$, $p < 0.05$), and collective services ($\beta = 0.115$, $t = 2.223$,

Table 2. Factor loading and alpha coefficient values of tourism impact items.

Items	Factor loading	Alpha coefficient
Individual problems (M = 2.23)		0.768
Tourism increases my cost of living.	0.867	
Tourism decreases the level of safety of my life.	0.772	
Tourism causes me to adopt an unhealthy lifestyle.	0.728	
Impacts of tourism on individual lifestyle (M = 2.94)		0.731
Tourism provides opportunities for me to meet other people.	0.847	
Tourism provides recreational opportunities for me.	0.836	
Impacts of tourism on individual pride and cultural awareness (M = 3.05)		0.775
Tourism produces cultural pride in me.	0.754	
Tourism enhances my awareness toward ethnic identity.	0.741	
Tourism increases my knowledge of my own culture.	0.592	
Tourism inculcates community pride in me.	0.517	
Impacts of tourism on individual economy (M = 3.07)		0.758
Tourism provides opportunities for me to choose a good job.	0.748	
Tourism provides opportunities for me to create my own job.	0.709	
Tourism produces increased employment opportunities for me.	0.624	
Impacts of tourism on individual image (M = 3.03)		0.768
Tourism encourages me to work together with local residents.	0.743	
Tourism has made me become friendlier to tourists.	0.601	
Tourism provides learning and understanding opportunities of other cultures to me.	0.591	
Collective problems (M = 2.19)		0.815
Tourism is the cause of traffic congestion in my community.	0.762	
Tourism is the cause of alcohol and drug abuses in my community.	0.757	
Tourism is the cause of an increase in prostitution in my community.	0.726	
Tourism produces overcrowding in my community.	0.722	
Tourism has made my community more materialistic.	0.687	
Tourism makes residents in my community imitate tourists' behavior.	0.656	
Impacts of tourism on collective economy (M = 3.23)		0.784
Tourism generates more purchasing in my community.	0.829	
Tourism generates a variety of goods and services in my community.	0.790	
Tourism produces diverse jobs in my community.	0.736	
Tourism improves public transportation in my community.	0.568	
Impacts of tourism on collective image (M = 3.11)		0.701
Tourism encourages a variety of cultural activities in my community.	0.827	
Tourism produces cultural exchange between my community and tourists.	0.736	
Tourism helps to preserve the cultural identity of my community.	0.708	

(Continued on next page)

Table 2. Factor loading and alpha coefficient values of tourism impact items. (*Continued*)

Items	Factor loading	Alpha coefficient
Impacts of tourism on collective services (M = 3.15)		0.743
Tourism increases recreational facilities in my community.	0.798	
Tourism expands social services in my community.	0.669	
Tourism contributes to infrastructure development in my community.	0.609	
Perceived benefits of tourism development (M = 3.10)		0.763
Tourism development contributes to the economic growth in Hat Yai City Municipality.	0.826	
Tourism development contributes to the progress in Hat Yai City Municipality.	0.786	
Tourism development promotes and preserves local culture in Hat Yai City Municipality.	0.763	
Tourism development in Hat Yai City Municipality provides more benefits than costs.	0.632	
Favorable attitude toward tourism development (M = 3.10)		0.731
Residents in Hat Yai City Municipality are favorable toward tourism development in this area.	0.869	
The government should continue developing tourism in Hat Yai City Municipality.	0.849	

$p < 0.05$) are shown to be positive (Table 3). The same is true about the relationship between how much they are in favor of tourism development in Hat Yai City Municipality and impacts of tourism on individual economy ($\beta = 0.193$, $t = 3.637$, $p < 0.001$), individual image ($\beta = 0.160$, $t = 3.053$, $p < 0.05$), and collective services

Table 3. Relationship between tourism impacts factors and residents' perceptions toward benefits of tourism.

Tourism impact factors	Coefficients beta	<i>t</i>	Significance
Constant		131.913	0.000
Individual problems	-0.304	-5.925	0.000*
Impacts of tourism on individual lifestyle	0.140	2.784	0.006*
Impacts of tourism on individual pride and awareness	0.122	2.106	0.036*
Impacts of tourism on individual economy	0.136	2.732	0.007*
Impacts of tourism on individual image	0.155	3.137	0.002*
Collective problems	-0.182	-3.296	0.001*
Impacts of tourism on collective economy	0.002	0.034	0.973
Impacts of tourism on collective image	0.039	0.747	0.456
Impacts of tourism on collective services	0.115	2.223	0.027*

* t is significant at .05 level.

Table 4. Relationship between tourism impacts factors and how much they are in favor of tourism development in Hat Yai City Municipality.

Tourism impact factors	Coefficients beta	<i>T</i>	Significance
Constant		155.637	
Individual problems	−0.156	−2.861	0.005*
Impacts of tourism on individual lifestyle	0.066	1.224	0.222
Impacts of tourism on individual pride and awareness	0.026	0.417	0.677
Impacts of tourism on individual economy	0.193	3.637	0.000*
Impacts of tourism on individual image	0.160	3.053	0.002*
Collective problems	−0.157	−2.682	0.008*
Impacts of tourism on collective economy	0.098	1.733	0.084
Impacts of tourism on collective image	0.086	1.545	0.123
Impacts of tourism on collective services	0.133	2.425	0.016*

**t* is significant at .05 level.

(beta = 0.133, $t = 2.425$, $p < 0.05$), which are found to be also positive (Table 4). It can be argued here that although the social exchange theory postulates that residents will generally agree to accept tourism if they find it rewarding, the way in which the rewards reach the residents (directly as individuals and fulfilling individual needs, or collectively as a community and fulfilling communal needs) may play a role in their perceptions toward tourism. The findings suggest that in order for residents to perceive tourism development positively, they must feel that tourism fulfills their individual needs and interests more than it fulfills their collective needs and interests. Thus, knowing how the costs and benefits reach the residents is indeed important in understanding why perceptions tend to differ among residents.

Other interesting findings are that the influence of the factors ‘impacts of tourism on individual lifestyle’ and ‘impacts of tourism on individual pride and awareness’ is found to be significant in explaining residents’ perceptions but not in explaining how much they are in favor of tourism development. This indicates that important factors that influence residents’ perception may not influence whether they favor tourism or not. This finding is parallel to the results of the study by Vargas-Sánchez *et al.* (2010), that the perception held by a resident does not affect his/her attitude toward tourism.

Conclusions

The results of this study reveal that both individual and collective impacts of tourism are related to residents’ perceptions toward tourism development. Particularly, individual and collective impacts in the form of economic benefits are important impacts that influence positive perceptions that residents have toward tourism as these impact increases their income, while individual and collective problems affect the quality

of life, comfort, and welfare of residents, resulting in them having less positive perceptions of it.

The results from the regression analysis indicate that the five factors of individual impacts had influenced their perceptions toward tourism development. This could be due to the fact that these impacts are associated with the quality of life of residents. The impacts of tourism on individual lifestyle, on individual pride and awareness, on individual economy, and on individual image increase the quality of life of residents as these impacts are individual benefits, while the individual problems degrade their quality of life as these impacts are individual costs. Thus, these benefits and costs in turn influence the perception of residents toward tourism development. This findings support the notions by McGehee and Andereck (2004) and Kayat (2002), that the personal benefits of tourism are an important factor in explaining residents' attitude toward tourism, by Wang and Pfister (2008), who found that individual benefits of tourism are associated with positive attitude of residents toward tourism, and by Gu and Ryan (2008), who found that an increase in the cost of living as the personal cost of tourism is associated with negative perception of residents toward tourism development in Shi Cha Hai Hutong, Beijing, China.

The result from the data analysis shows that the perceptions of residents toward tourism development are influenced by two factors of collective impacts, which include collective problems (increased attention on materialistic values, imitation of tourists' behavior, traffic congestion, overcrowding, prostitution, and alcohol and drug abuses) and impacts of tourism on collective services (recreational facilities, social services, and infrastructure development). This could be due to the fact that these impacts are associated with comfort, welfare, and facilities in the community.

The collective problems (increased attention on materialistic values, imitation of tourists' behavior, traffic congestion, overcrowding, prostitution, and alcohol and drug abuse) as collective costs affect the comfort and welfare of residents in the community. As noted by Brunt and Courtney (1999), a decrease in the comfort and welfare of local residents in Dawlish, South Devon, UK, is a result from traffic congestion and overcrowding caused by tourism development in the area. Also, a study by Hsu (2006) indicated that residents in Lan-Yu, Taiwan, perceived that the impacts of tourism on crime, illegal drug abuse, prostitution, and degraded culture affected the comfort in their community. In contrast, impacts of tourism on collective services (recreational facilities, social services, and infrastructure development) as collective benefits can produce facilities in the community.

This study concludes that the impacts perceived by residents can be categorized into individual impacts and collective impacts. Residents who perceived individual and collective costs of tourism have less positive perceptions of its development, while those who perceived individual and collective benefits from tourism have more positive perception of its development. In sum, the findings of this study confirm the social exchange theory in explaining residents' attitudes toward tourism development. However, although the study finds that residents are a little more concerned about how they, as individuals rather than as a collective group of community, are affected

by tourism, it is unable to conclude which one of these impact categories is more influential in forming residents' attitudes.

Findings from this exploratory study form a contribution to the theories used in understanding residents' needs and values through the categorization of impacts perceived by residents as serving their individual or collective needs and interests, which may contribute additional knowledge on residents' attitudes toward tourism. In particular, the social exchange theory, which has been proposed to be useful in explaining the perceptions held by residents toward the exchange in tourism, may need to be complemented with other knowledge. The basic premise of this theory in the explanation of exchanges between tourism and residents lies in the proposition that residents will be in favor of tourism and will be exchanging with tourism favorably if they find tourism rewarding and if they perceive the benefits positively. Findings from this study support this proposition. More than that, this study also finds that the way the rewards reach the residents (directly as individuals or collectively as a community) may play a role in their perceptions toward tourism. It is thus suggested that future research should continue on from the above findings focusing on residents' individual and collective needs and values in explaining residents' attitudes and behavior toward tourism development, as the social exchange theory alone may not sufficiently explain residents' perceptions toward tourism. This may strengthen our knowledge on the attitudes of residents toward tourism, particularly in explaining the existing homogeneity and ambiguity surrounding the perceptions of residents in a tourist destination.

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